1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Lord of Tumbou," who though noble in a way, are not of the nobility proper. It seems to be applied also to the younger folk as opposed to the elderly people, who are called *turanga ndina,* or "true *turanga.*" I have heard *ngone marama* used only once in reference to elderly or married ladies. The word for lady is *marama.*

The opposite of *turanga* in the sense of noble is *kaisi*—terms often used in a relative sense: a man or woman of high rank may be *kaisi* to one still higher and *turanga* to one lower; *marama* is never so used. The word *kaisi* is used also as a term of abuse.

THE HIGH CHIEF

In Lakemba the high chieftainship was possible to only two groups, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, Naivi and Korothumu having lapsed after their defeat in war. Upon the death of a high chief, the *turanga* decide upon his successor. Then the two Ramasi—Tui Tumbou and Tui Nasangalau—together with Vakavanua, the chief of Thekena, Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, install him as Sau, a common title for a high chief. After an interval of one or two years he is installed as Tui Naiau, Lord of Naiau, and his wife with him as Randi Naiau (Lady of Naiau). An installation ceremony is called *veimbuli* (creation). The last installation as Sau occurred in the seventies. The present High Chief, Ratu Finau, was not installed as Sau, because he received his government appointment before the installation could take place; but he is usually spoken of as Roko Sau, or the Chief, seldom as Tui Naiau. There is no title Tui Lakemba "because the god is Tui Lakemba."

The first Sau of the dynasty which came to be called Navuanirewa was Niumataiwalu. His successors were (p. 241): Uluilakemba I., son of Niumataiwalu; Lumbati Lakemba, son of Niumataiwalu; Rasolo, son of Niumataiwalu; Ndranivia, son of Uluilakemba I.; Matawalu, son of Niumataiwalu; Malani, son of Rasolo; Taliai Tupou, son of Rasolo; Uluilakemba II, son of Vuetasau, the son of Malani; Erone Longanimothe, son of Taliai Tupou; Finau Ulunggalala, son of Uluilakemba II. Thus Niu was succeeded by three, or including Lumbati, four, of his sons in the order of seniority; for Ndranivia was said to have "snatched the chieftainship," to be an usurper. Then the two sons of Rasolo succeeded, the elder first; the second, Soroanggali, declined. From Malani on, the succession alternates between the two houses of Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. But this rule is not absolute, for it was considered by some that Tuimereke should have been Tui Naiau in succession to his brother Erone Longanimothe, with Salesi, his eldest brother's son's son, as government chief, and that Malani should have been Sau before his eldest brother's son, Ratu Finau.

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Tuimereke leads n Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau.

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant.

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position.

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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

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Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*udonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

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The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho*, "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala*. [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya*, "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho*. Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua*, "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi*, from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

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gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae. *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndua e—Sa !—thombo*: to clap.

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INSTALLATION OF THE SAU

The following account is given of the installation of new Chief as Roko Sau. (See also 7, p. 70.)

The family of the Vuanirewa make kava; Tui Mereke strains it. There is no singing; the kava is merely taken up to the chief. The two Ramasi, that is the Lord of Tumbou and the Lord of Nasangalau, tie a piece of bark cloth (*masi*) on Roko Sau's arm. One of the two, or else the Vakavanua or the chief of Nukunuku admonishes him and the people of Lakemba that he should be loved, that what he says should be accepted, that they should hearken to what he says, that he should be good to the people of the land.

No one may come in during the ceremony. On that day and for four days afterward no crying or beating of bark cloth is allowed. Every day they bring in feasts from all the villages. He stays in the house for those four days; this is called *tonivaki* [a term also applied to the staying in after a funeral]. After four nights he goes to bathe; a feast is then held called the bathing feast.

Another informant says the retirement lasts for eight days and a man of Katumbalevu proper claims that it is the funetion of Katumbalevu to rise after the drinking of the kava and tell the Sau "they give all things into his hands and he must be good to the people."

So long as the chief is only Roko Sau the people of Naiau bring him the first fruits of every kind of food.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI NAIAU

Tui Ndevo, Tui Liku, chiefs of Naiau, and the Vaka of Naiau discuss the installation of Tui Naiau:

A noble of Tumbou will strain the kava, and another will bear the cup. The man who strains the kava stands; he stands with crossed legs, as is proper in all installations, including Mbau. The post of cup-bearer is a difficult one and only a nobleman can be chosen for it; he wears a grass skirt. Tui Naro, the chief of Naiau, ties bark cloth on Tui Naiau's arm, and will tell him to be kind to the people of the land, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company, not to close the door on the Naiau people. Randi Naiau drinks next to Tui Naiau, then the herald (*mata ni vanua*).

Any minor office that may be vacant is filled on that occasion. Thus at Ratu Finau's installation, one nobleman was installed as Envoy to Mbau, though the office properly belongs to Narewandamu; another, as envoy to Thakaundrove, and the head of the Lemaki family as Lemaki. The Lord of Tumbou apportioned their kava. He merely said, "This is the kava for So-and-so, to appoint him to bear the name of So-and-so."

During the ceremony the Naiau people mount guard with clubs to see that no one speaks. Afterwards while the people of the land and the nobles go home, the village headman and the true chiefs assemble in a house which is to be their club house (*mbure*), in order that there may be no noise or crying of children; if anyone makes a noise, he is fined and must make a feast. The Tui Naiau keeps the scarfs on his arms for four days. Feasts are made for the chiefs every day for four days, after which they all make merry. Once the chief is installed as Tui Naiau, the Naiau

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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *va vanua*, that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga*, "to make *Nelitris viticnsis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo*, which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa*, that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vuvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

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others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

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Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

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Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

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Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana[18] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*levu*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Tuiai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[18] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

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Greens

The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way.

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing:

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. The sacred canoe is being launched.
A ~~t~~tipi ni koli i. The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thaw*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they

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against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

"Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]
sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai
tauthoko mai thoka i ei.

Sinu . . . . . .
sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
come before, come behind, come inside, come
outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai*, as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb.

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now.

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received:

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i vbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo vinggai*).

1; Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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(*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

> House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.
>
> The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.
>
> If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

374 602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 643 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui.

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. [illegible]); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also [illegible]eralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside.

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows:

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (*c*) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukei*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[1]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tauvu* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tauvu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the

[1] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 people in a festival. If war were impending from Mualevu, each sent a message to his villages.

643 The office of Ravunisa was vacant several years, so the Rasau was the first chief.
161 It is said that were a Ravunisa installed whose hair was not white, he would soon die. Only one Ravunisa lived to be of any great age. Enere, who was installed in 1912, died within a week. A spirit had smitten him. He said one evening that a black man had come; next morning Enere was dead. The same black man appeared to Amini when he was Ravunisa. Amini was asleep at the foot of a mango tree; a black man, constable of the grave, constable of the spirits, appeared to him and raised his club to strike him, but he stepped on a dry leaf of breadfruit which crackled, so he did not strike, fearing people might hear. Therefore, Amini did not die but merely had a big illness.

643 The Ravunisa originate from Mualevu, where was a family, the Vuanimoli, who caught turtle and sent none to Tui Yaro. For this reason they were driven out and went to live in Lomaloma. Hearing that the Ravunisa was in Narothivo they went there, slew him, took his daughter, who brought them to Lomaloma and they were installed.

If the Ravunisa dies the Nggala choose a successor and inform the Mbutha, who approve. The new chief is called Tui Lomaloma before drinking the kava. It is not an installation name. After drinking he gives up the title of Tui Lomaloma and becomes Ravunisa. All the villages are informed of the election and come to install him.

The Levukans make the kava. No talking is allowed. It is forbidden for any one to go to the house: there is a guard adorned in the Fijian way and armed with clubs. Any one who comes that way is clubbed. The chief does not wear a scarf. When the kava is poured out two men lift up the cups; they perform antics: they raise the cups slowly, then stretch out their arms, and bending their bodies forward they put one foot before the other with stiff legs and a jerky motion; if any one laughs a guard says, "Go and bake a big pig." The cup-bearers present the cup to the Ravunisa, but before he drinks the herald speaks to him, "See the kava you are drinking today that you may be mindful of the kava of the Ravunisa, that you may love the land, love the people." He tells him to look after his people. Then the Ravunisa drinks, then the herald, then Nukuthiri, a noble clan to which the kava jumps (*rindo*); fourth the Rasau, then the Rasau's herald, then any one else. The same day a feast is made by the whole of Lomaloma, then they go home. They do not keep the four nights.

643 The Rasau originate in Lomaloma. The earliest recorded was Sau and
787 priest of spirits: if a war impended between Mualevu and Lomaloma the people waited upon him and made offerings of whale's teeth and hundred fathom pieces of cloth. This chief had a big dog called Tuilambelambe or Tuinaivindrawalu; if a war was impending he barked; if he barked facing Mualevu the men of Mualevu would be beaten; but if he faced Lomaloma the Lomalomans would be beaten. At the present day if any one of Mbutha is about to die this dog appears.

643 The people of Tuvutha gave the soil and the men to this Rasau's son and installed him as Tui Tuvutha because he put an end to the wars between the two villages by making them into one. There were few people left in Tuvutha so when the Tui Naiau said, "What do you wish me to give you in exchange for the sandalwood that is in Tuvutha?" Tui Tuvutha answered, "The sandalwood is a trifle if you give me a population for my island."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The Tui Naiau said, "Good," and gave some men of Vuanggava and some from Ongea. This same Rasau, Nggalitha, was sister's son to Ndakuilomaloma and sometimes went to stay with them. Now at that time there were in Ndaku some Yandrana men of the clan of Kelo because Mbutha and Yandrana are *tauvu*. They installed a man of Kelo as herald to the Rasau; that is why the people of Ndaku are heralds.

An informant says:

If a Rasau dies, Mbutha choose a successor, the eldest of living brothers; then Ndakuilomaloma hold a council to ratify: only the heralds attend. Then Nggala is informed. The herald goes to Tuvutha to tell them to come. The Rasau does not bear any title before installation. All the villages attend the installation. Of old, Lomaloma was not divided in two and there was only one chief, the Rasau. He is installed as follows:

The men of Ndaku strain the kava and on either side of the bowl sits a man of Tuvutha. Two men of Ndaku stand behind those that make the kava, each holding a club and it is their duty to mount guard on the installation. When the kava has been chewed there sit behind the bowl two men of Tuvutha, one called Takala, the other Matakilomaloma. When they are about to strain the kava, the herald stands up and shouts that all the people of Lomaloma may hear, and says, "Hear, ye people of Lomaloma, today is held the installation of the Sau, today is installed the chief of us Lomalomans. Know ye well, and obey him, and do to him all the chiefly customs."

When the herald has so proclaimed he sits down and calls out to press the kava. When the kava is pressed the two men on either side of the bowl hold a torch. Then the herald says, "Lift up," and they lift up the kava, and lift up also the two torches to examine the kava; this is done in broad daylight. If the kava is satisfactory they strain it. When all the lees have been removed, they pour out the kava. The Takala and the Matakilomaloma then stand up and bring three pieces of bark cloth and come near the chief who is being installed as Rasau and stand in his presence, and the Takala says to the chief, "Stand up!" He stands, and they tie the scarfs on his arm: one one the left, one on the right. Then the herald stands up also and the third scarf is tied on his right arm. When their arms are thus bound the two sit down, and the Takala proclaims, "Hear ye men of Lomaloma: today is installed the Tui Tuvutha who is Sau in Lomaloma."

To the Rasau they say, "The cloth we are tying we tie for you to be Rasau, to love the people, to look after them well that no evil may come." Then they sit down, and clap, and crawl back to the place where the kava is made. The kava is then brought to the chief and he drinks.

When he has drunk, the two Tuvutha men who carried clubs come and stand in his presence, one on the right, one on the left, and speak thus, "This, Sir, is your rampart, these clubs we two are carrying. Be not faint-hearted. We here are the men of Navusaveti, the men (*tangane*) or (*kei*) Lomaloma. The name of this club is Uphold-Rasau." Then they retire to their places and kava is poured out for the herald; then come Naivindrawalu, who drink third because they are a group of nobles (*tamba turanga*) in Mbutha; they are merely the support of the kava (*i raviti ni yanggona*), but do not become Rasau; then the Ravunisa drinks, then the rest. The torchmaster (*ndaunithina*) then puts out the torches. After the installation they remain in Lomaloma four nights; then the people of Ndakuilomaloma and of Tuvutha take the Rasau to Tuvutha. When he arrives there all the children are taken away, that there may be no noise in the village; if a child cries the father has to make a feast. The people of Tuvutha keep making feasts, not the rest of the people; they carry torches as they bring the feasts. After four nights Rasau bathes in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

> Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".
>
> Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.
>
> The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

> All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald. When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 60?
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

642 in "all countries the chieftainship goes from one to the other." Such families, as in Oneata, "may intermarry a good deal because they are cross-cousins."

The succession is through the father, yet the descendants of an elder sister are thought far more of than any descendants through males; and, though not qualified for the chieftainship, yet rank higher than the chief. The great prestige an elder sister possesses may be the relic of custom which still obtains in Tonga of ranking the descendants in the female line higher than those descended through males. This may explain the word *kaisi*: this is usually explained as having been originally a term of abuse; but semen-man would in Fijian be *tamata si*, not *kaisi*, which should mean "one of the nationality of the semen"; comparing *kete*, womb, for a descendant in the female line, *kaisi* would then be properly a descendant in the male line, and therefore one of inferior rank; *turanga* would be a descendant in the female line, one of higher rank.

Descendance in the female line is preserved in such place names as Keteithake, Keteira.

DUAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 In Lakemba there is now a great disproportion between Tui Naiau and the Land Chief, but it is quite clear that there was not so great an inequality between them of old, and that the state of affairs formerly came much nearer to what holds now in Lomaloma and the Moala Islands, where the second chief Rasau or Vaka merely yields precedence to the first chief Ravunisa or Tui Moala.

The leading chief almost invariably bears the title of Tui. The title of the second chief varies; in Lomaloma it is Sau which is the title of the first chief in Lakemba; but in Lakemba there is an obscure and hotly controverted tradition that Thekena was Sau at the very beginning of history, that their title later declined to Vaka; on the other hand Melaia, who was reputed one of the best authorities, declared that Uluilakemba I and Lumbati were never Sau; thirdly there used to be a title Tui Lakemba which must have been in Tai since Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Putting all this together may it not be that there once was a Tui Lakemba in Tai, and a Sau in Tumbou? The heirs to the first title fled to Tonga and the title remained in abeyance, like the Ravunisa in Lomaloma at the present day, so that there only was one title left, the Sau, as in Lomaloma. In the course of the civil wars that followed Ului and Lumbati, Thekena was smitten and Tai took the title of Sau, to which they later added that of Tui Naiau. This explains all the facts and is consistent with the sequence of events I have accepted as history.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INSTALLATION

The ceremony of installing a chief varies in details in different tribes, but the general outlines are constant: kava drinking, tying on of a piece of cloth or scarf, guard to keep anyone from coming in during the ceremony, prohibition of all noises for four days, bathing feasts at the end of four days. This period of four days is very much like a period of mourning, indeed it is described by the same term as mourning, *tonivaki*. It looks then as though the installation was conceived as a death. Tui Mavana at his installation is nursed in the lap of the elders for four days like an eldest newborn son: this looks like death and rebirth. The legend of the origin of the chiefs of Yaroi leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the tying on of the scarf: the snake was a god, it had a scarf tied round the body, was itself called "the cloth of the land," bark cloth is waved to catch souls: therefore it may be inferred that the scarf contains the divinity which passes into the chief who dies as a man, to be reborn as a god. This inference is confirmed by the cult of the water-sprites: the initiates of the cult drink kava and thereby become possessed by spirits.

The evidence of the divinity of kings is slight in Lau, but it is there: there is a god called Tui Lakemba, who, according to Fison (4, p. 49) was son of the sky god, and there was once a chief bearing that name, and there still is in Tonga. The same with Tui Vakano.

Thus a new explanation of the title Vunivalu is evolved which is conferred on one of the two chiefs of Mbau. It is usually interpreted as a metaphorical expression, the Root of War, but it would be more in accordance with the Fijian thought usage to translate it literally God of War. The captain of a reed-throwing team is called the God of the Reed-throwing, obviously because the god is in him. The priests of the tidal stone in Levukaindaku are spoken of as "the gods (*vu*) of the stones." On this analogy the *vunivalu* is the god of war, the *vuniwai* is the god of the medicine. What then is the *ravunisa*? The same word, *sa*, is found in *mburenisa*, club-house; in Samoa, *sa* means a tribe, a clan: this meaning suits both words, and *ravunisa* would then be the Lord God of the Tribe, in other words the incarnation of the ancestor god.

The chief being divine it follows that the same ceremonial is observed towards him as towards a god: offerings, first fruits, etc.

The herald may be defined as the chief's priest: he is to the chief what the priest is to the god.

There are two hints that the possession of the regalia conferred the chieftainship: the meaning of the ornaments which Kumboavanua stole from Tokairambe was subjection; in other words, he who held them was overlord;

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940. OQ6 Lau OQ6 Kambara

Clan Titles

554 618 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

High Chief

554 618 The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[illegible] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe*, and so forth.

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship.

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa.

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25).

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice.

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights.

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The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute.

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

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The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother.

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Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan.

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The abus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

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land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutulutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal relationship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[3]

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga.

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

CHIEF'S RECEPTION

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late

[3] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*kuva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [431] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

Pregnancy

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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576 643 784 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 784 753 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman [842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 784 671 648 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.